L. Sections--ca 3,C-5 (1864) 1886 SP7 Sections 397

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/100 cont./

101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a people of the Paresys."

Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of [31] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Pareni/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira. I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

342 321

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 123 [191] It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands. [22]

/101 cont./

361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, p. 172/; the Bakairí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez [131] 649 777 pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

1: Stations
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Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

I. Steinen. 1 1 1 2), 1-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Sacaia SP7

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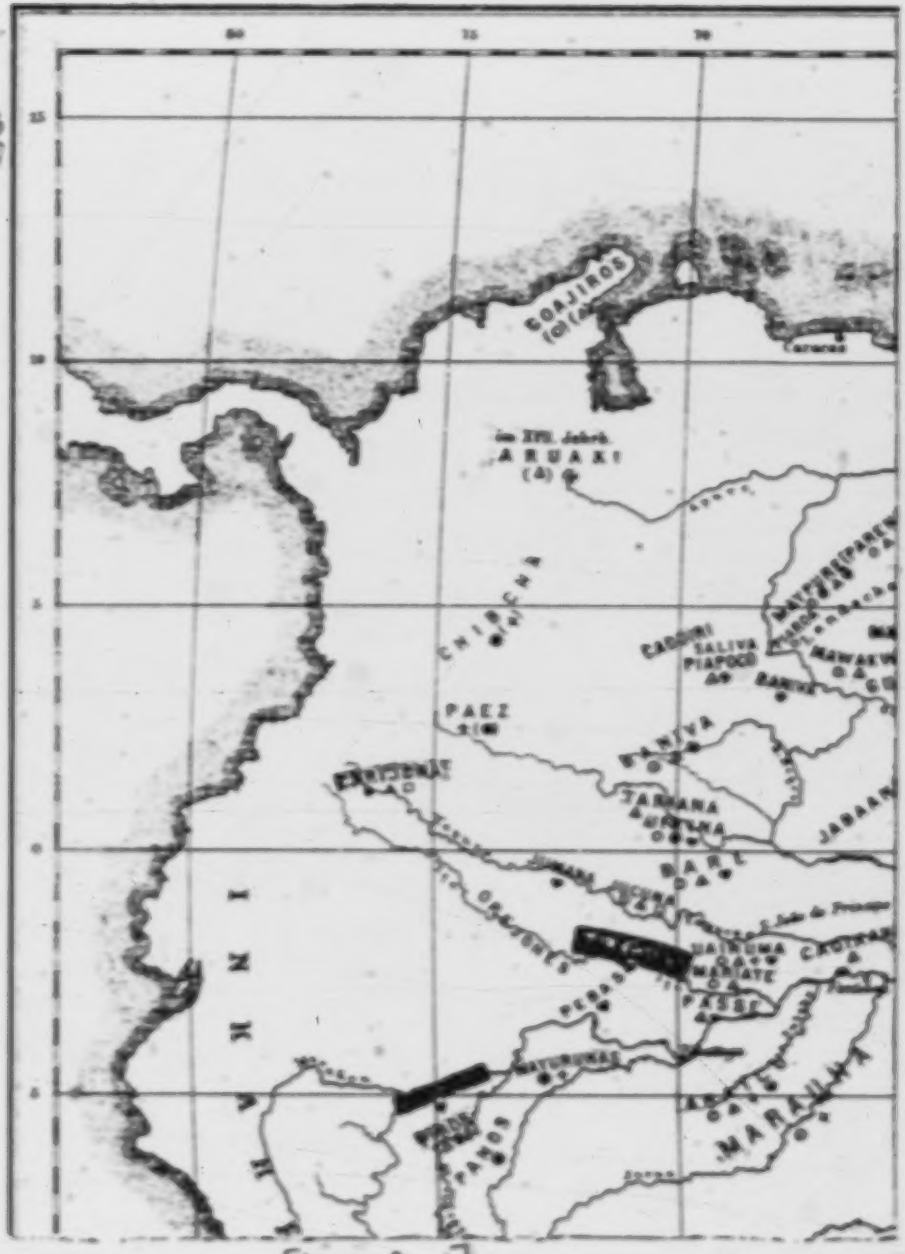

[MAP A-1]

1: Steinen--155 D, 1-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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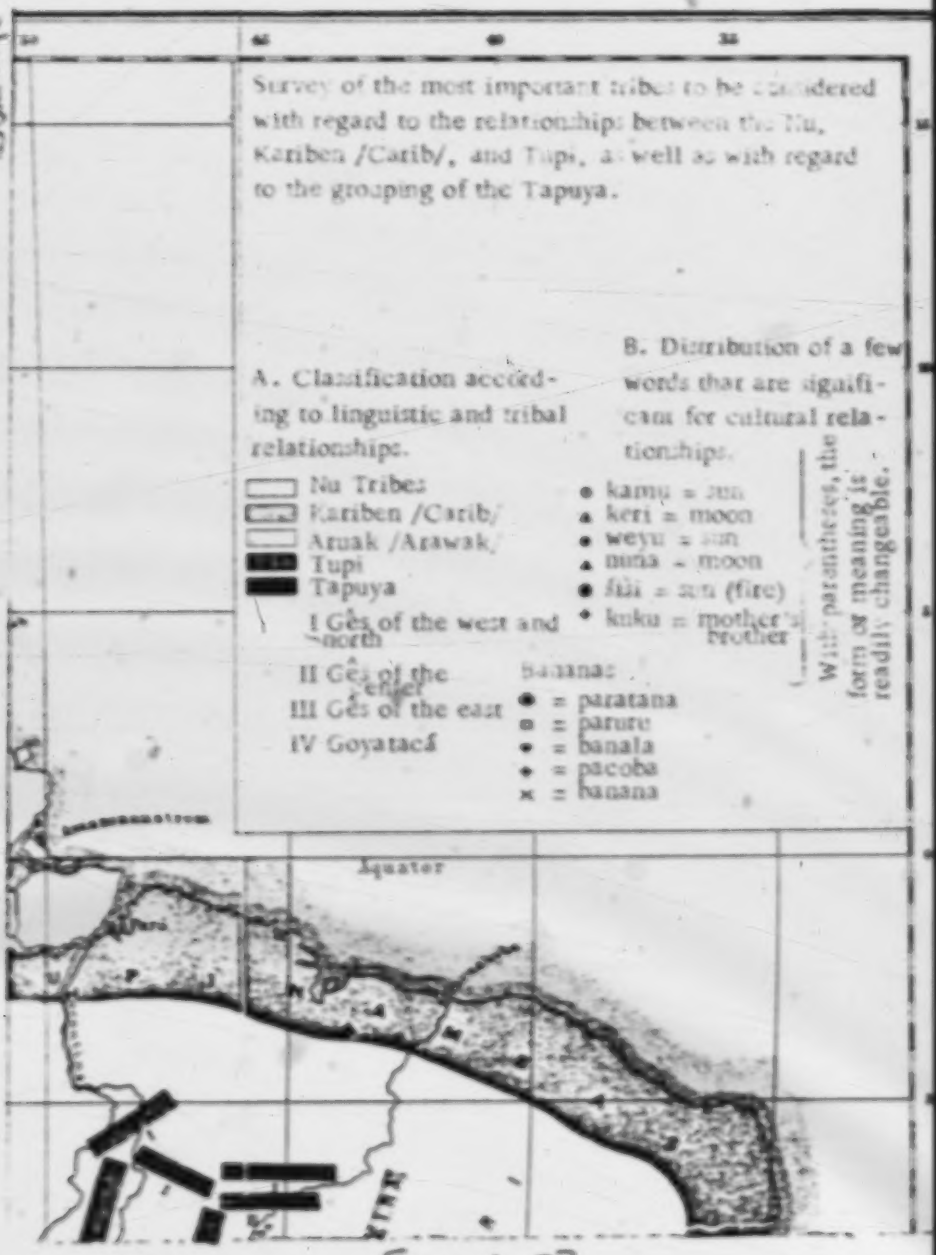
[Map A-2]

I: Steinen--1896 D,I-3 (1884) 1896 SP7 packet SP7


Survey of the most important tribes to be considered with regard to the relationships between the Nu, Kariben /Carib/, and Tupi, as well as with regard to the grouping of the Tapuya.
A. Classification according to linguistic and tribal relationships.
Nu Tribes
Kariben /Carib/
Aruak /Arawak/
Tupi
Tapuya
I Gês of the west and north
II Gês of the center
III Gês of the east
IV Goyatacá
B. Distribution of a few words that are significant for cultural relationships.
kamu = sun
keri = moon
weyu = sun
mina = moon
füi = sun (fire)
kuku = mother's brother
With parentheses, the form or meaning is readily changeable.
Bananas
= paratana
= paruru
= banala
= pacoba
= banana
Equator

[Map A-3]

I: Steinen--157 D,5-6 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacia SP7

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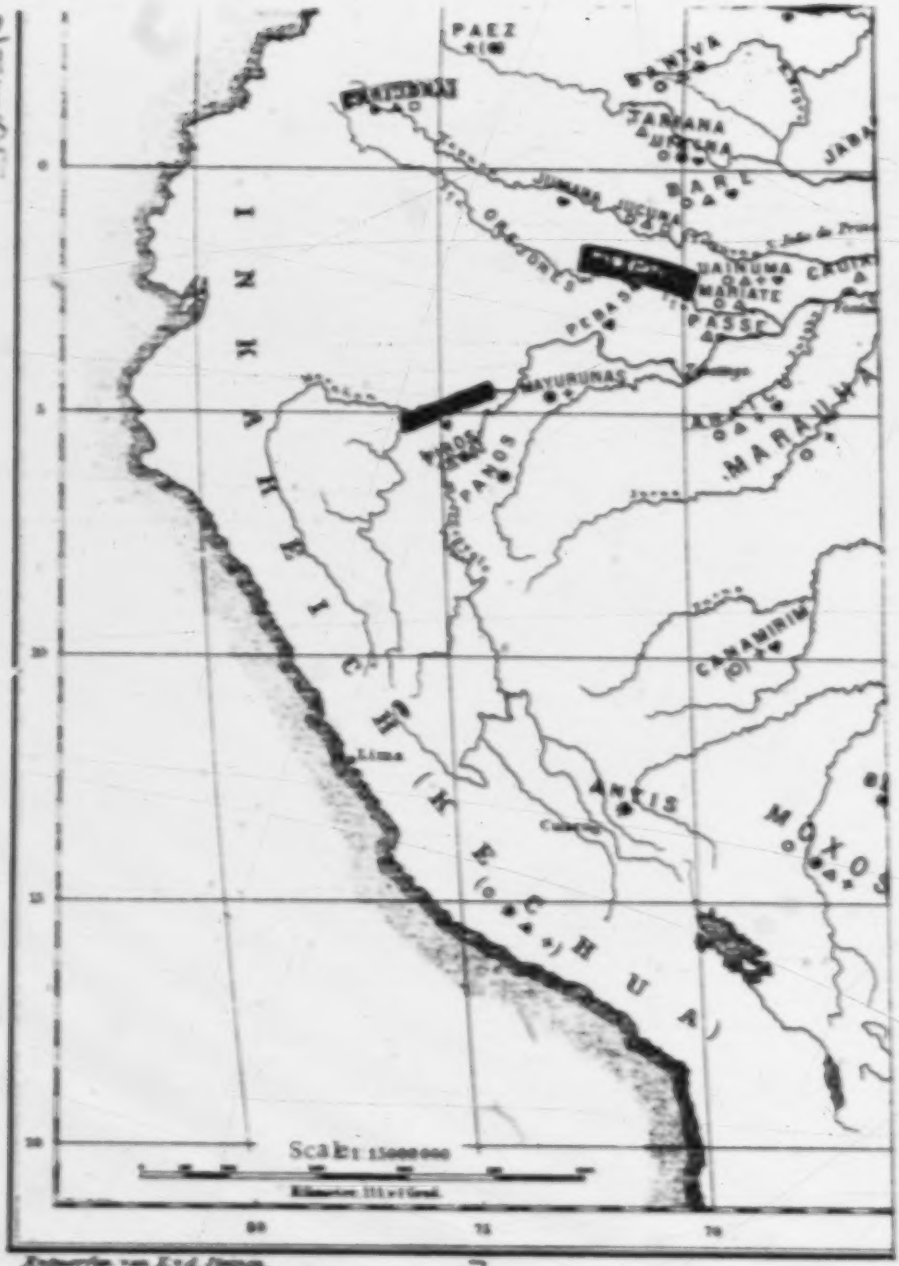

[Map A-4]

1: Steinen--158 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 - SP7 Baca SP7

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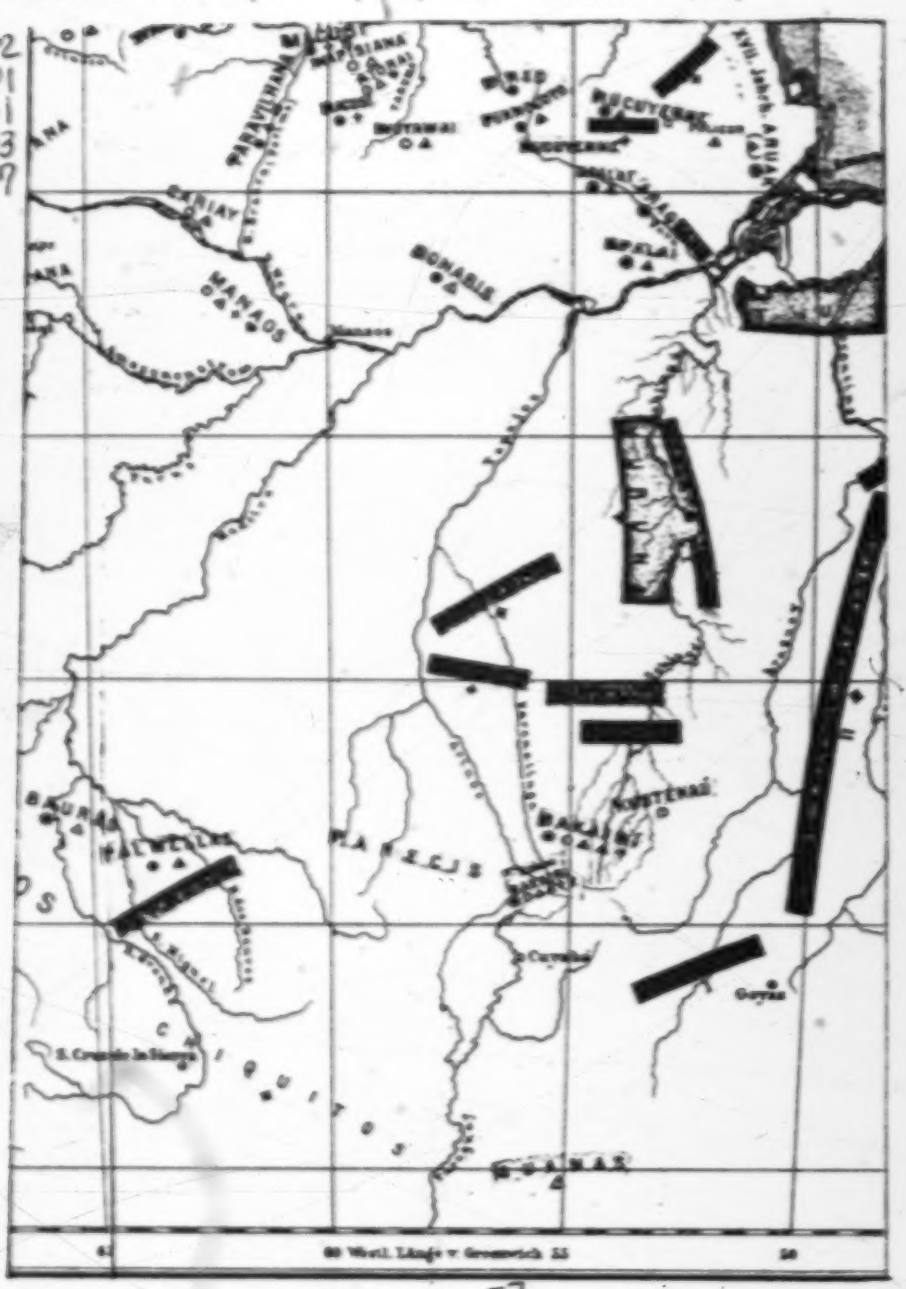

[Map A-5]

1: Steiner--159 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[Map A-6]

1: Steinen

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SP7 Bacairi SP7

A	B	C	D	E	F
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Chart of Positions of End Map /Facing p. 173/

I: Steinen--173), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 facaini SP7

Special map of the Schingú River. From the records and preliminary findings of Dr. O. Clauß[illegible] reduced to the scale of 1:500,000.

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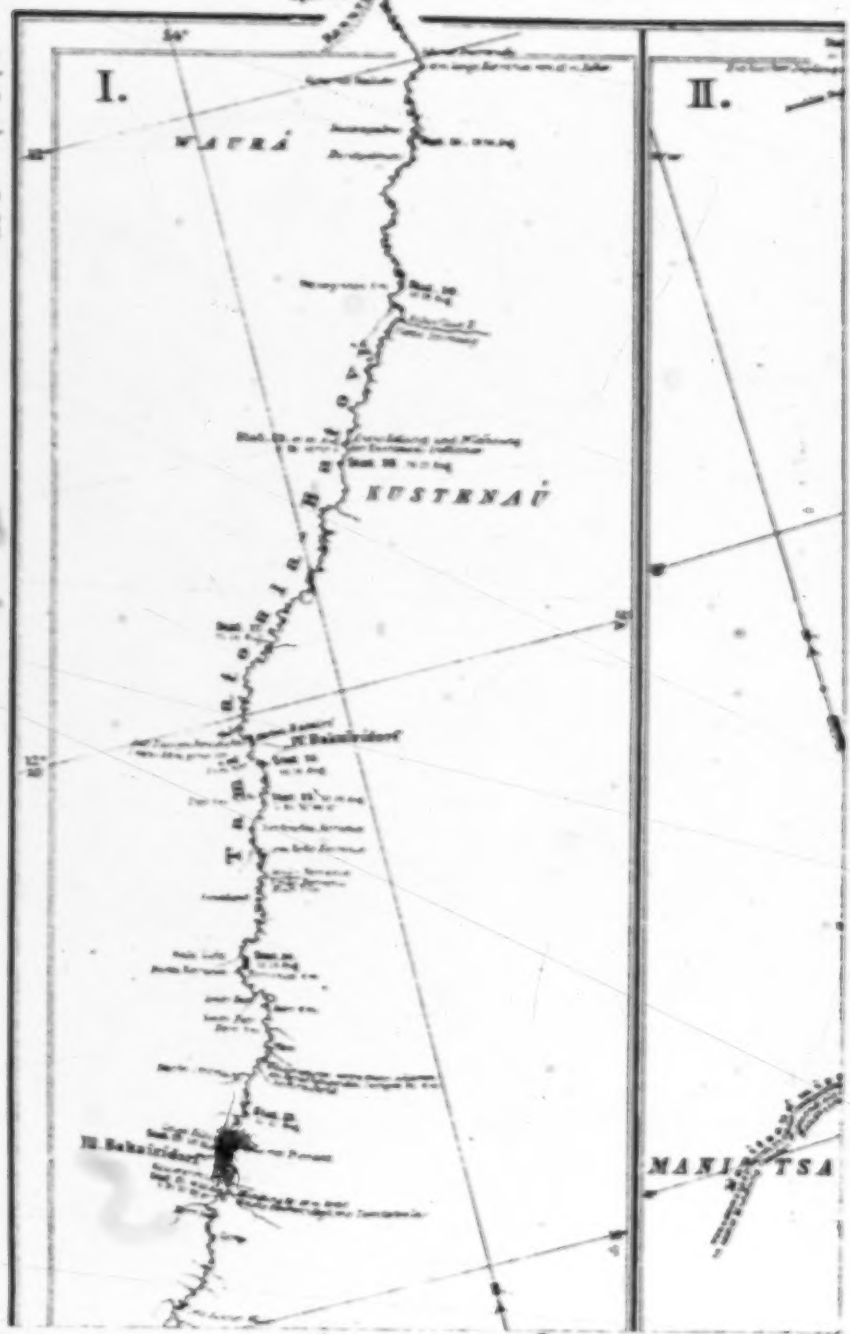
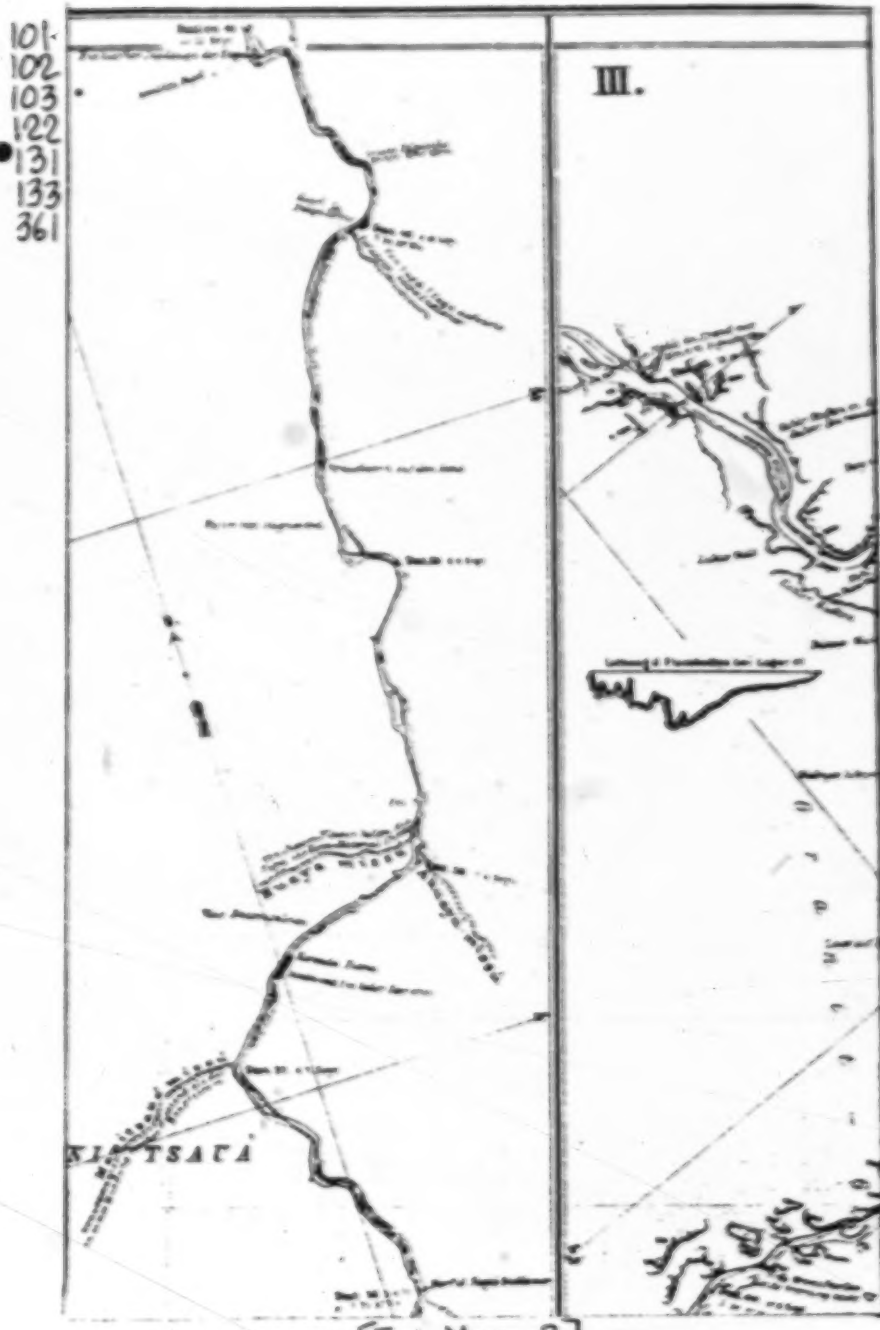


[End Map, A]

1: Steinen--174 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacair: SP7



[End Map, B]

1: Steinen--175) E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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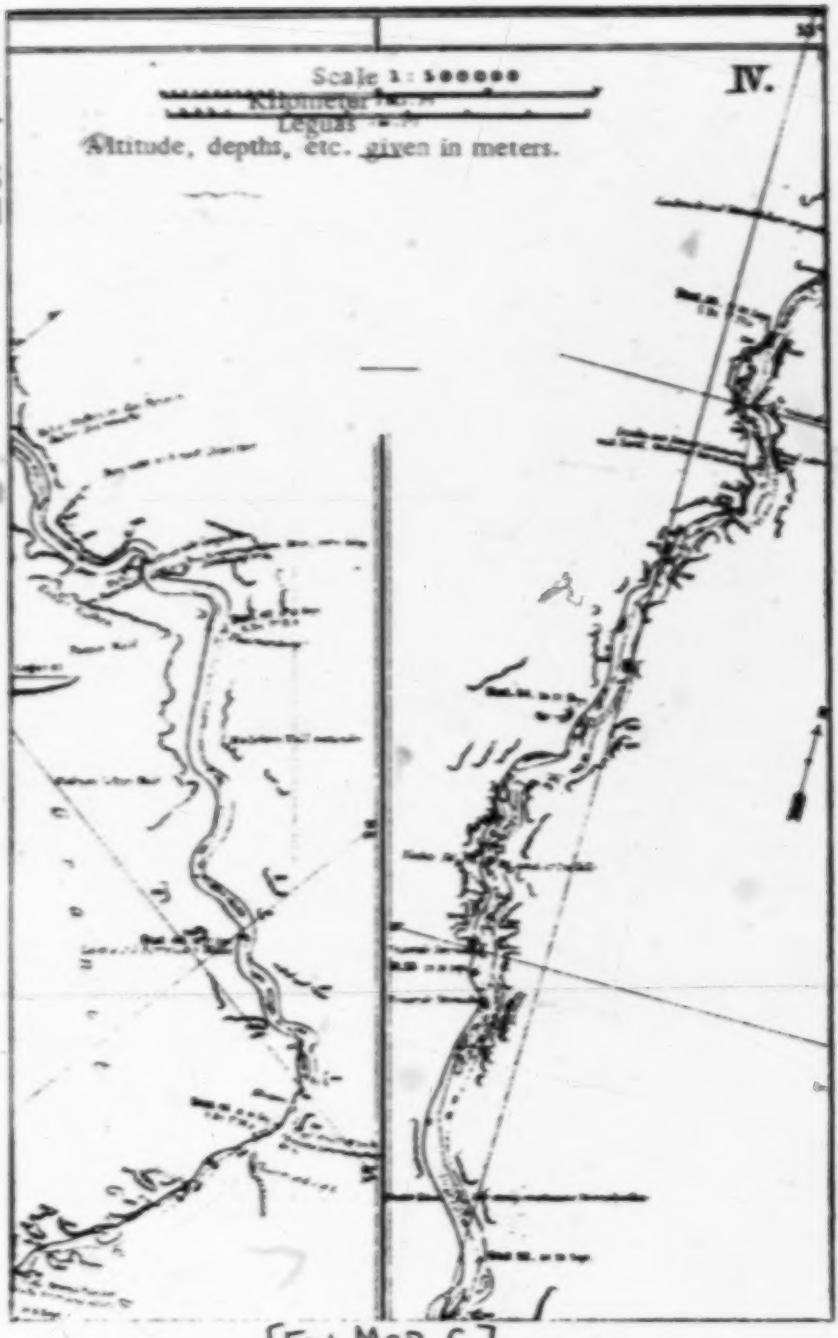

[End Map, C]

1: Steinen--176 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Explanation:

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route of the v. d. Steinen Expedition 1884.

Δ Stat. 34 Stopping places on it, with dates 4, 5 Oct.

In the case of stations determined by astronomical calculations, the latitude that was ascertained is added.

camp = treeless land overgrown with tall grass

= forest

o Seringeiro = Brazilian caoutchouc gatherer

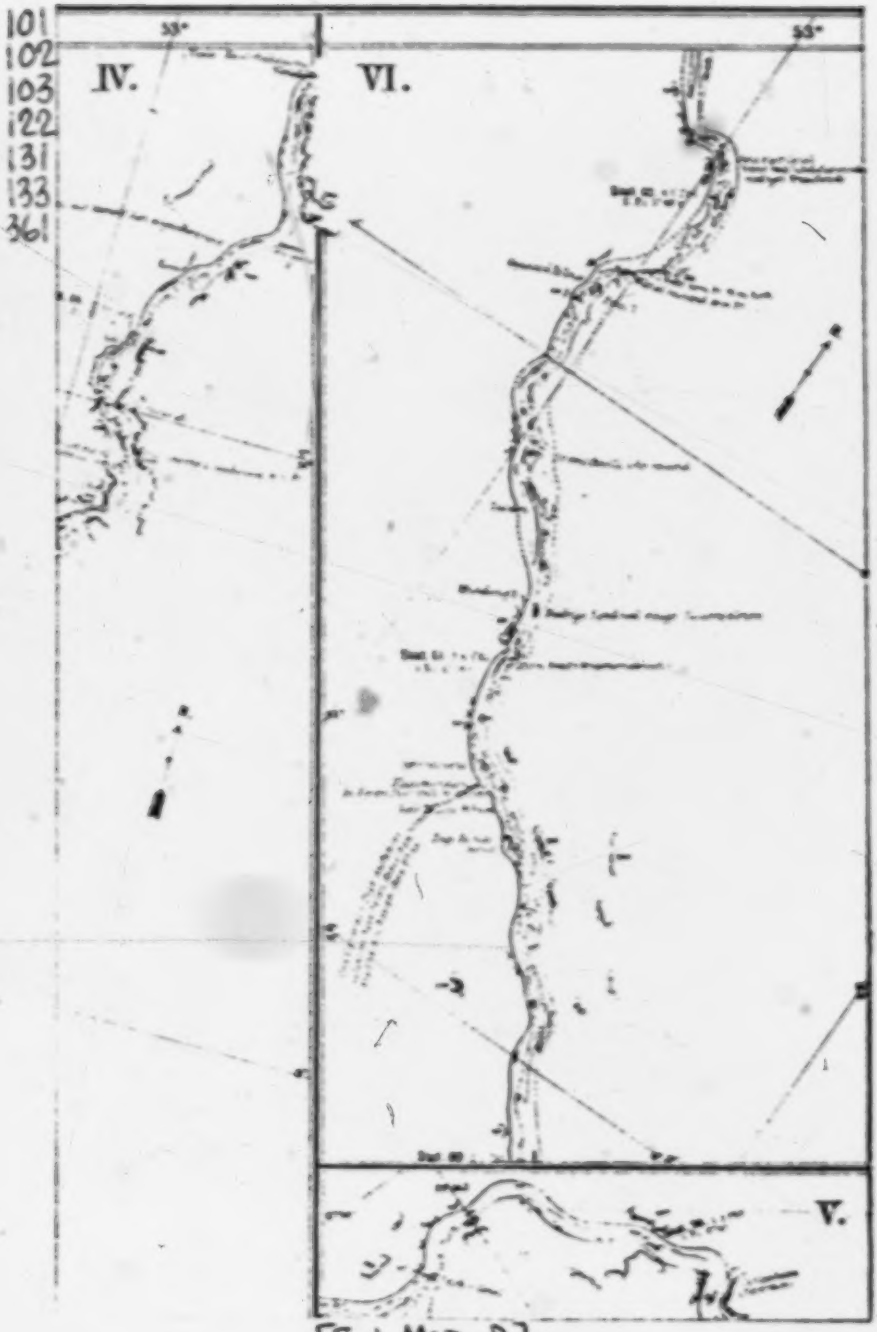
cataracts and rapids

rocks, partly covered with plant growth. Barranca = steep, sandy shore

sand banks

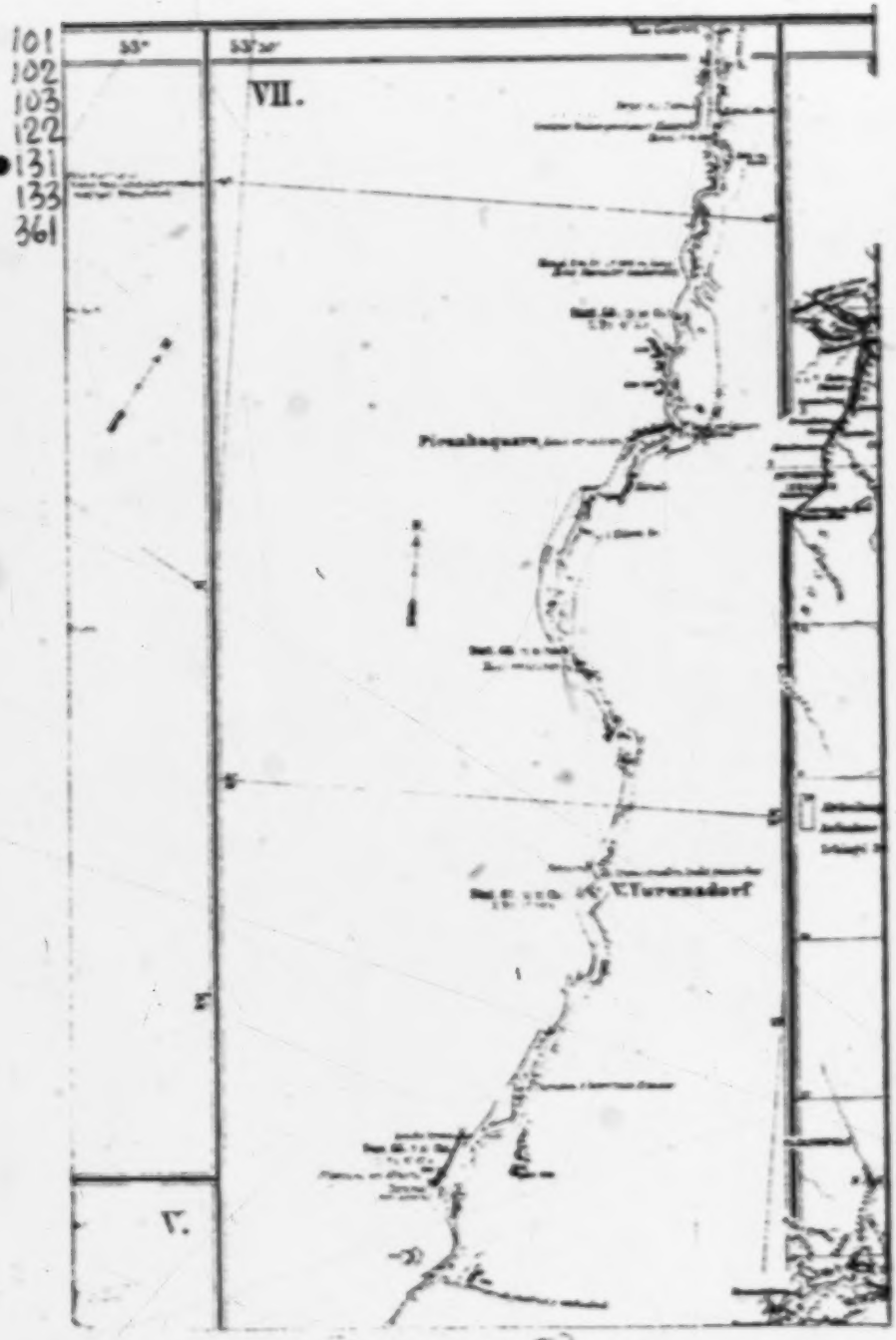
[Legend Appearing Below scale on End Map, C]

1- Steinen--177 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacair. SP7



[End Map, D]

I: Stettin . 178 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP SP7



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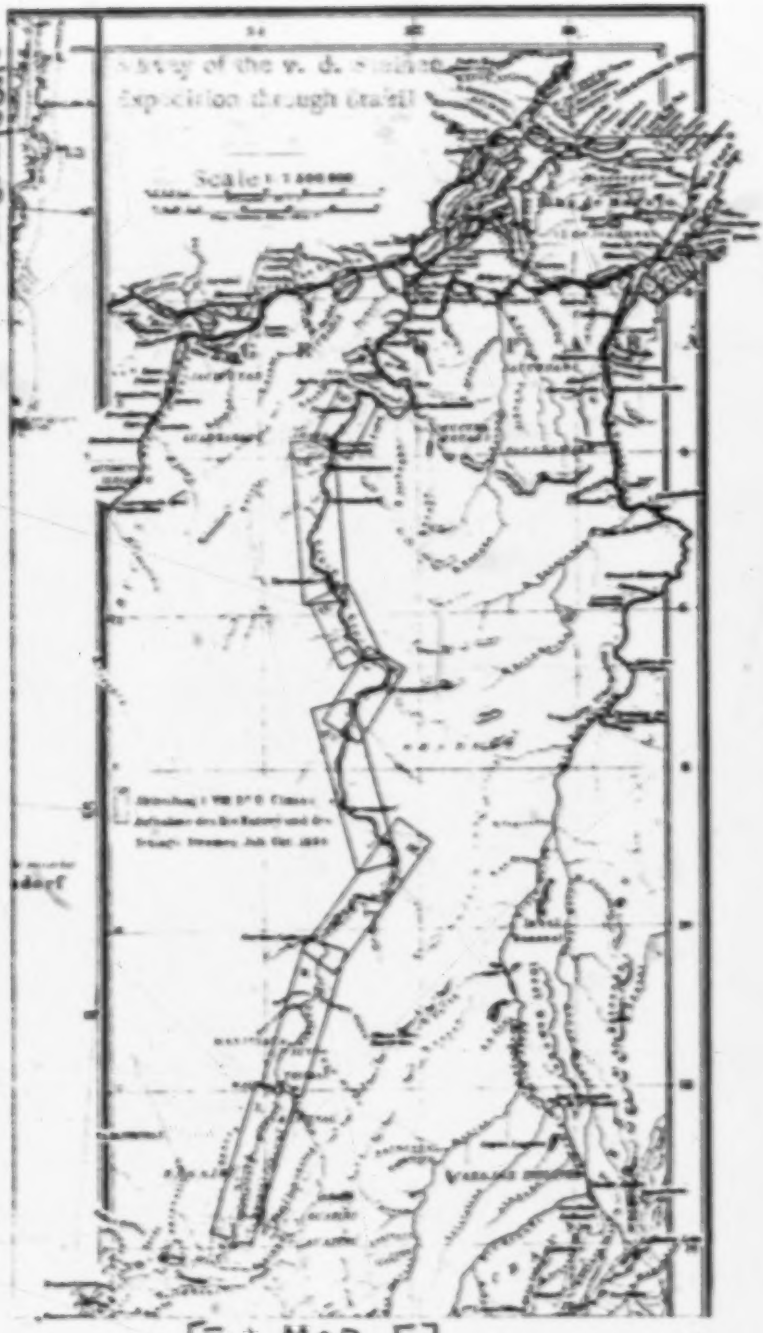
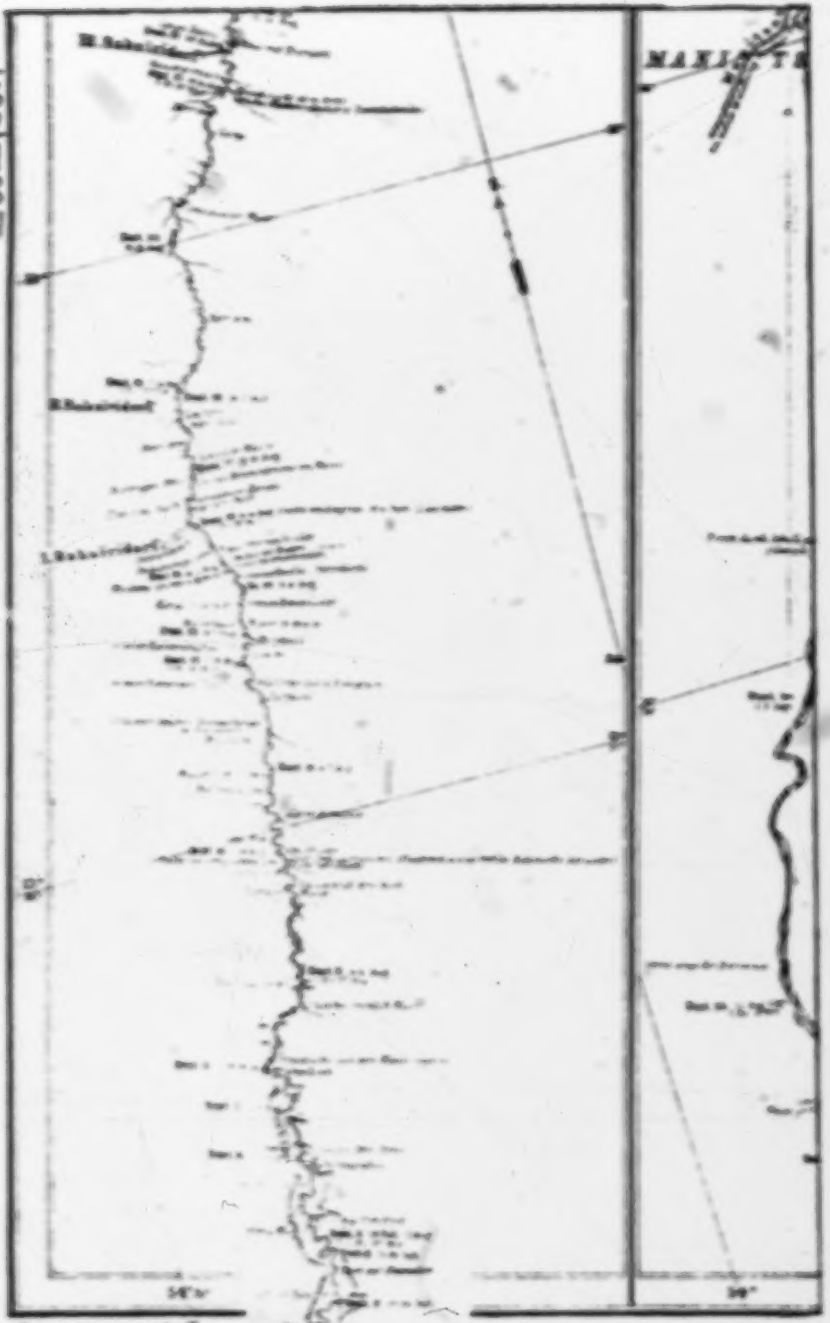


[End Map, F]



[End Map, G]

1: Stemen--181) E-3 (1884) 1886 SP7 Batch 1 SP7

[End Map, H]

1: Steiner- 18[illegible] (1894) 1886 SP7 to Colin SP7

[End Map, I]

[End Map, J]

1- Steiner--184 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Facsim SP7

[End Map, K]

1- Steiner 185 D E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacain SP7

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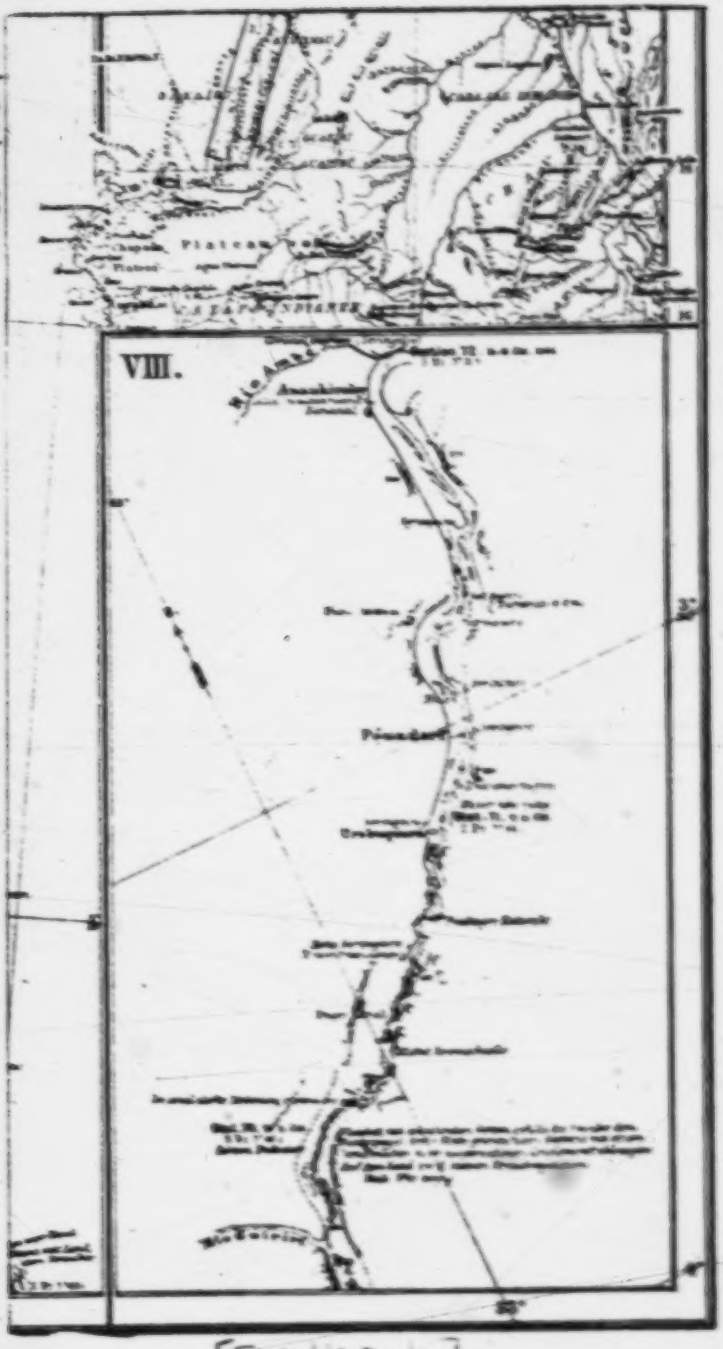

[End Map 1]

/53 cont./

123 609 was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily 101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's 114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise 131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the 103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisẽu, or Kulihẽu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty 122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

2: Steinen- 14 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihü," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayurá" and the "Waurá" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

B 101 T 114

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakaïrí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïrí, or Ráza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then "ãle" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by recklessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut. Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B
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823 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
[115] by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

B S 101 131 823 /153 cont./ the second journey. By and large, one must say, the statements of our informant were confirmed. His river branchings, it is true, cannot satisfy the cartographic demands of our Karaiben exactitude, but even here he was more accurate than we could realize when we mistook the Kulisehu for the Kuluëne. But the astronomical position of the localities in relation to one another turned out to be completely distorted, since the Suyá needed a very long line to show the large number along the one branch of the source and blithely extended it endlessly to the south.

B 101 131 We do not know the dwellers along the Ronuro; Vogel understood the Auetó chief who navigated the mouth at Schingú-Koblenz with him to say that there are Kabischí /Cabishi/ and Kayapó /Cayapo/ there. The Kabischí about whom anything is known live in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ as part of the docile Paressí Indians, it would be most interesting and significant if the Paressí, like the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, could be divided into a "docile" and a "wild" group, since it is precisely in this once populous and highly developed Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that the crude civilizing process has destroyed what cannot be replaced. It would not be surprising at all if the widely distributed Kayapó were on the Ronuro, since they frequently appeared on the Paranatinga and had merely been mistaken here for the Coroados-Bororó by the Brazilians.

B 101 103 131 361 Along the tributary of the Ronuro, the Batovy-Tamitotoala*,

* Formerly incorrectly written Tamitatoala. tamitóto, falcon, owl = they killed (schóle) a falcon, as the Bakaïrí themselves told me.

down which we traveled in 1884, there are four villages of the Bakaïrí. Its lower course and the adjacent region on the right belongs to the Kustenaú /Custenau/ and the Waurá.

/154/ There follows, toward the east, the Kulisehu. On its left bank we have the three villages of the Bakaïrí, Maigéri or "tapir died," Iguéti or sparrow-hawk village, Kuyaqualiéti or harpy village.

2: Steinen--132 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 197 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it, there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont./

199 10 131 world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

2: Steinen--134 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23

/158 cont./

The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses).

Karaiben: Bakaïrï (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

/159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

/330 cont./

ccc Their methods. To die in narcosis. The medicine man in heaven. Tobacco. Conjuration of the weather.

I.

*171
●131 The boundaries between the regions of the tribes are natural ones. "This brook belongs to the neighboring tribe," we were regularly informed along the way. The one bank of the Kulisehu, for example, belonged to the Nahuquá, the other to the Mehinakú
[226] /Mehinacu/. Fishing with bow and arrow on the river was open to everyone.

*171 The plantings were common property. Everyone had his
422 personal property in the house, even the women, who, we saw,
[428] often objected to having it given to us; it was handed down to
[622] one's children, sons and daughters. We often observed, however, that persons to whom we had given beads, etc. were obliged to hand them over to the chief.

*171 The power of the chief was not great. In all the larger vil-
622 lages there were several chiefs who lived in different houses; in dealings with us, there was always only one who appeared as representative. "Representation" was the most important obligation during peacetime. The chief directed the business connected with planting, he saw to it that the necessary supply of flour was put away, he had the beijús baked and the drinks prepared for all festive occasions and for the visits of strangers. He was apparently a family-father in greater style, but could not be very thrifty if he was concerned about the esteem of his fellow citizens, to say nothing of his neighboring tribesmen. Thus, the chief of the first Batovy village was "kurápa," bad = stingy. He had only a few
[577] beijús baked for the guests. Stinginess is regarded as the ugliest trait. This type of rule must be difficult, however. Antonio told me about a certain João Cadete in the Paranatinga village, who was in line to become chief, but preferred to emigrate "com medo de tratar gente," for fear of having to entertain people,
[621] /331/ so Felipe took his place. If the community is dissatisfied
[626] with its chief, it knows a remedy: it breaks away from him and simply moves to another place. The office is hereditary, hence

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

000

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
●131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/387 cont./

131 Bakaïrí are all inhabitants of the eastern source-region of the
133 Tapajoz and are to be found only in the region of the plateau above the rapids and waterfalls that put great obstacles in the way of the journey downstream to the Amazonas /Amazon/.

175 The West Bakaïrí have been known since the first raiding
101 expeditions of the "Paulistas," the discoverers of the Mato Grosso who boldly pushed forward from the province of S. Paulo on their slave hunts at the beginning of the previous century. Even Antonio Pires de Campos, from whom we have a report* from the year 1723,

[113]

*Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico XXV, p. 448. Rio de Janeiro, 1862.

"after the experience of so many years," had heard of them; after he has briefly characterized (page 448) the tribes -- today long since disappeared -- of the upper Cuyabá and the Rio Manso emptying into it, he continues: "All these have the same way of life, the same type of weapons, and everything else the same, they are nomadic tribes and, with their raiding expeditions, succeed in causing harm to the heathen people named Bacayris, who live on the tributaries of the Maranhão (sic!); and from there on various stations of heathens /388/ with countless villages follow one another, as I have been informed, and all very warlike people and masters of their weapons."

The Bakaïrí are also mentioned in a report from the year 1749 about a trip from Pará into the source region of the Madeira, and furthermore it may also have happened in many an old note about the origin of the Mato Grosso gold mines. It is always only a casual mention of the tribal name, which does not offer us further information. At most we may conclude from these citations that in the previous century the Bakaïrí must have been more numerous and perhaps had advanced somewhat more to the west and southwest than is the case today. This will come out more clearly, however, from their own tradition.

175 Closer contact with the Brazilians did not take place until
797 the beginning of the 'twenties in our century. At that time

/389 cont./

127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 [199] [164] [157] The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

173 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 173 salto 131 of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde 167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle 361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers of Caetano was slain in the forest by another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

Apiaca S.P.2
Cayabi
Munduruca SQ13

B 175 648 /391 cont./ enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM 175 648 [113] M [131] BM [101] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikírí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Manduruku," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B A 173 648 The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

Yaruma SP25
Nahuquá
SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yabuti SP24
Palmella
Cariban Indians SP7

Y 131 169 /398 cont./ several would learned from three Palmellas who were in the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years) they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Baures and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no Y 161 longer knew from what region. They numbered about 400 in- 164 dividuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through Y death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined 181 to hunt and fish, they planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts, 241 squash, sugar /399/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens Y and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among 142 the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown 143 hair, like the Herisobocones in the Baures district, the Tukunapeba and the Arara of the lower Schingú." A white Indian woman with blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was Y treated respectfully by all under the name of "Senhora." Un- 101 fortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and must be content with "Palmella," as a Cuyaban caoutchouc Y trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only im- 169 migrated into the Baures district from the outside, and its origin C 131 is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Karaiben appear in considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira re- mains very noteworthy.

Ya B In the eastern source region of the Tapajoz and in the west- 31 ern one of the Schingú, the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá were now 174 added. Though the West Bakaïrí are today considerably reduced, B [167] they successfully spread from the now abandoned salto of the Paranatinga and from the region between the Parantinga and Ronuro toward the east to the Batovy and Kulisehu, where they occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Nahuquá Ya 131 are the masters of the Kuluene, the chief source-branch of the 133 Schingú, the exploration of which will be the most important C task of our successors. With their numerous villages they are so Ya 361 very important that one may say: it is the Karaiben who rep- 161 resent the chief bulk of the population of the Schingú source region.

B 174 Through the Kulisehu Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá, the considera- tion causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Bororo SP8
Iacamb-Cuera SP12
Paressi SP14

/548 cont./

			1848	1872
14	Bororós Cabaçaes	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15	Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16	Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
	/549/			
17	Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18	Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19	Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20	Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecíz	250
21	Maimbarés	400		400
22	Cabixís	500		500
23	Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24	Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25	Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26	Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27	Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28	Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29	Pacáz	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30	Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31	Jacarés	?		
32	Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33	Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
		13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

/259/

121 756 784 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

[114] [122]

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On [177] the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões 131 361 Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

131 /200 cont./
361 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
193 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga
131 River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
361 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
166
619

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
179 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago. —

[192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [49] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by 131 Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, 177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates 101 from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the 131 Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from 361 Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 The following table gives size and number of 162 inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18
Mato Grosso SP1

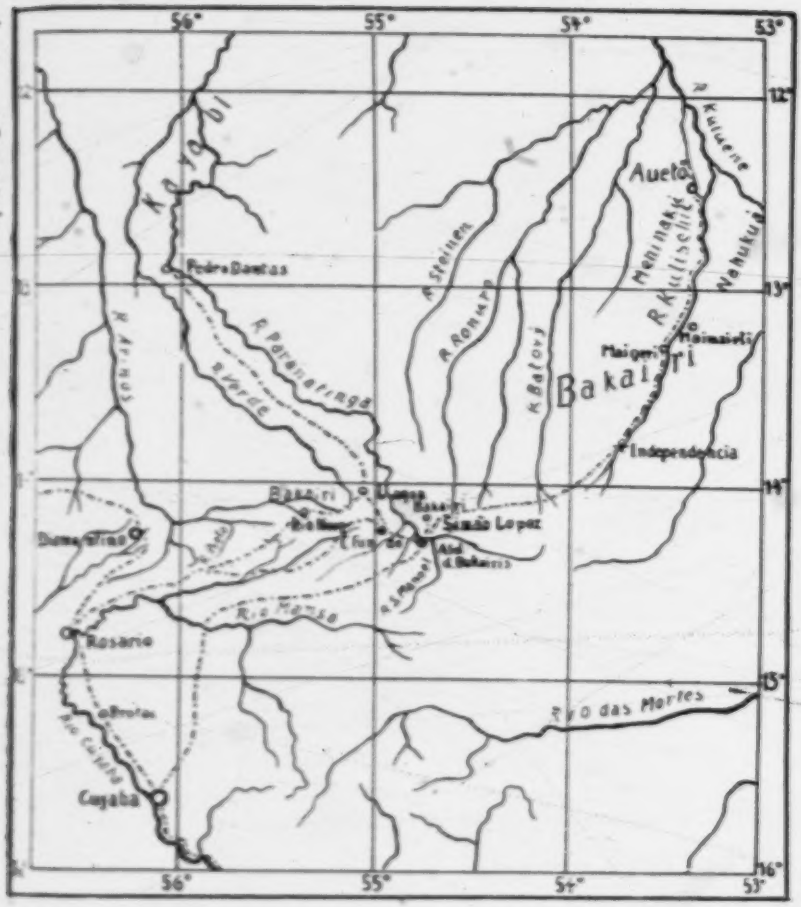
102, 131

/For a sketch map of the state of Mato Grosso showing the location of various ethnic groups, see 3:Petrullo, SP8 Bororo, category 116, map facing p. 180./

4:Schmidt--59 E=5 (1901. 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate I

102
103
131
133
361
114



Territory of the Bakairí

– – – Itinerary of the author.

Yaruma SP25
Waiura SP18
Bacairi SP7
Aueto SP6

Y 361 moved to the Kuluseu. A comparison of the map with that of Von den Steinen will reveal that a number of changes have been made.

B Y W 361 131 Formerly the four Bakairi villages were to be found below the Taunay falls, being the first habitations that were encountered on descending the Kuluseu. These have now been abandoned, and the Bakairi peoples, including those of the Rio Novo who are almost extinct, have withdrawn to the Inspectoria's post on the Paranatinga. Thus, the first people to be met are the Anahukua, whose village is on the right bank, in about the same location as that given by Von den Steinen. Several days of paddling downstream is the port of the Mehinaku, on the left bank, and the village is as usual several hours' march away from the bank. This also is in the approximate location given by Von den Steinen. At the time of our visit, however, the Mehinaku were busily building a village on the right bank. Their fields were ready, the eagle house was built with the eagle in possession, and one house was almost completed. The reason given for the movement eastward was that there was necessity of seeking better fields. Another Arawak people, the Aura, also have a port on the west bank of the Kuluseu, below that of the Mehinaku, but their village must be close to the Batovy. A group of them that came to visit our camp came by way of the Batovy and Kuluene.

W A 131 361 Below the mouth of the Kuluseu there is a lagoon and buritisal on which are located three villages. The southernmost is that of the Auiti, a Tupi people, who have in addition a port on the Kuluseu. Next to them to the north are the Yawalapiti, who are Arawak, and close to the mouth are the Kumayula, also Tupi, a numerous and much-feared people. Fishing in the lagoon is restricted to members of each group within certain limits.

Y 361 648 The Kuluene river up to the rapids is in possession of Carib peoples. Just below the rapids are the Naravute, and then going northward are met the Kalapalu, the Kuikuti (Cuicuru) and the Tsuva, all having their villages on the west bank. These groups are in constant warfare with the Tapuya-speaking people that wander over the territory east of the Kuluene, and sweep westward, but to the south of the Naravute and Anahukua. It would seem that the Tapuya peoples actually surround the other peoples of different linguistic stocks that have more permanent settlement.

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8
Bacairi SP7 ●

Ba
Bo
102
● 131
133
172
487
361

[Facing P 180-A]

[Plate ~~XXV~~-A]

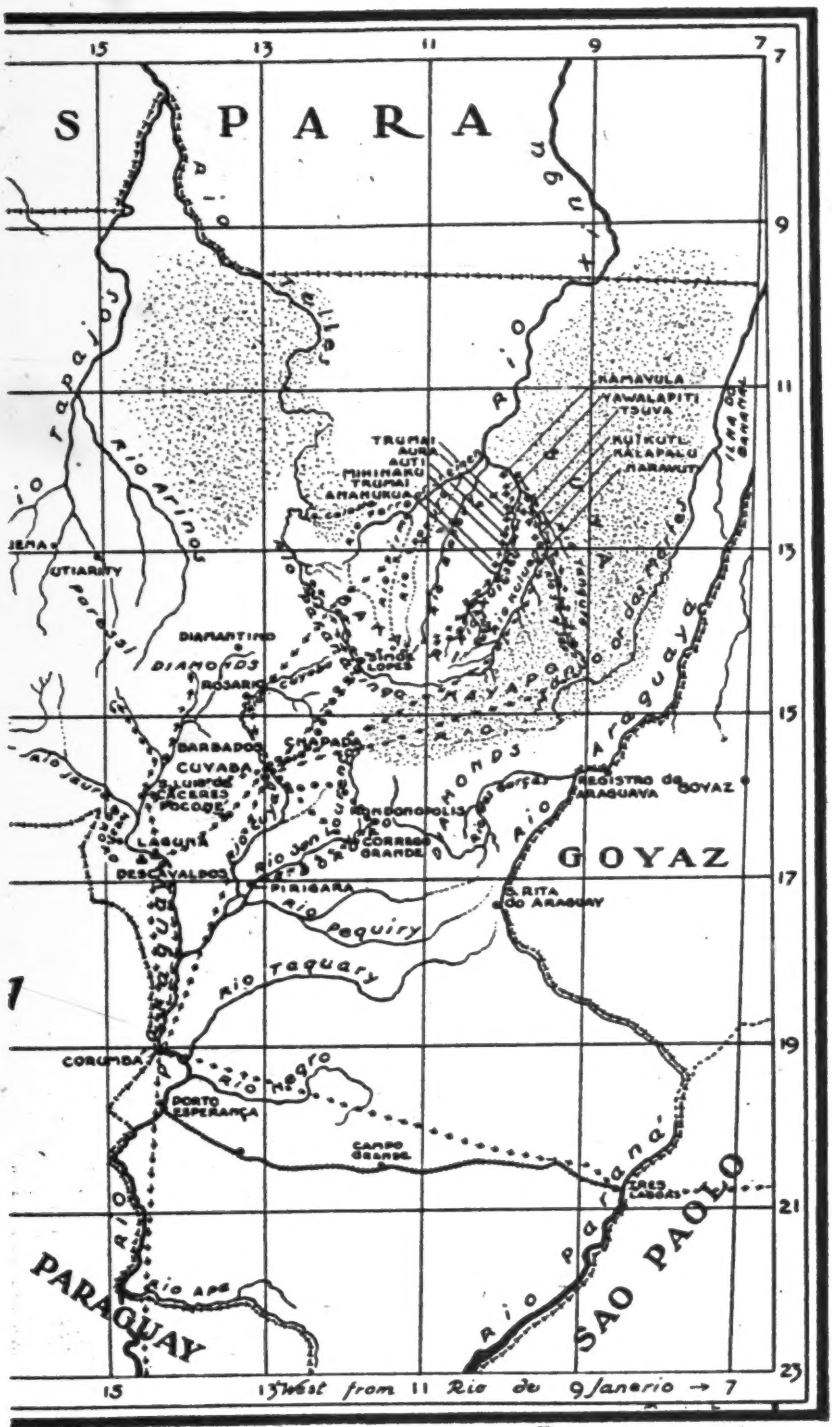
3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

SP8 Bororo SP8

Bacairi SP7

PLATE XXV

Ba
Bo
102
131
133
172
361
487


S P A R A
PARAGUAY
SAO PAOLO
GOYAZ
MATTO GROSSO
Rio Guaporé
Rio Tapajoz
Rio Arinos
Rio Tellez
Rio Juruena
Rio Paraguay
Rio Jauru
Rio Pequiry
Rio Taquary
Rio Negro
Rio Apa
Rio Paraná
Rio dos Bugres
Rio dos Mangues
Rio dos Diamonds
Rio Araguaya
Rio Sepotuba
Rio Jauru
Rio Sepotuba
Rio Correntes
Rio Arinos
Rio Juruena
Rio Tapajoz
Rio Guaporé
Rio Paraguay
Rio Araguaya
Rio Taquary
Rio Pequiry
Rio Negro
Rio Apa
Rio Paraná
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Rio Araguaya
Rio Sepotuba
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